family by giving birth to children" (1955, p. 190). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Mazajl who, although she put the majority over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rug, almost frequently, envelope which was put to the exclusive of the Classical Arabic poet was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Mazajl the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Mazajl as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these suppositions are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that additional and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage, and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of consolidation which serves as a force for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the rigor of this social function of the funeral appears to persist undiluted among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty lined up a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the main room, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men were outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Druze villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

The priest, joined by the elderly men from Bethem and the men, young men from Jabbayil who was carrying a cross draped in black, led the procession out of the house. They were immediately followed by six men, including the mayor, who carried the coffin on their shoulders. As they reached the open part of the road all the men filed in behind, the women behind the men, and proceeded silently to the church whose bell was being tolled by someone. Some groups of people remained outside during the service. The coffin was placed in the center of the church under the chandeliers, and the priests stood in a row on the far side of the dress. The men gathered, as usual, around the front of the church, while the women were seated at the back.

As is customary at funerals, there was no mass, only recitations by the priests and a lay reader. There were several usual instructional smiles by the Maronite priest to his assistant especially in regard to keeping the censer lit; and there was some talking among the women in the rear. The coffin—painted wood with a cross affixed on top—was on a plain wooden table, with a wreath of artificial flowers on top. Someone put small candles on the coffin at head and foot and was busy lighting the church candles in the early part of the ceremony.

At the end of the service each priest kissed an additional cross which had been laid on top of the coffin. The women remained seated while the coffin was carried out, followed by the men. Some stayed around the church, while others went to the cemetery which is always attended only by men.

The village graves (*singl. maqbara, plur. maqabir*; or *sing. marfin, plur. marafin*) are of two kinds. There are nine minimal lineage tombs in three rows on opposite streams. These are generally pyramidal or rectangular structures of stone, mostly ornamented with a cross on top. The bodies are inserted into semi-subterranean vaults underneath them. Three of these are no longer used "because they are near the wheel." These were for lineages A,VIII, A,IX, and C,XX. The others are for one of the deceased lineages of 9, and for A,IV, B,XII, C,XVII, A,X and A,III. The other graves mostly have no permanent markings and are dug in a row in a certain sequence below the tombs which is set off by an iron gate. This burial ground is not new.

The burial was in the far cemetery, not in one of the tombs. A grave about three feet deep had been dug. After some chanting over the coffin it was put into the grave. Stones were placed between it and the sides of the grave and then the earth was filled in. This took some time, and those standing by chatted about such things as the quality of the grapes and figs which were ripening around them, while some lit cigarettes. When it was nearly covered, someone pulled the cross off the top of the coffin. When it was completely covered up even with the ground, stones were heaped on the grave ("To keep animals off," said someone), and the cross was propped up at its head. As the last stone was placed on the grave, the priest said, *Allah yirhama* ("May God have mercy upon her"), and the group

returned to the church where there was a large assemblage of men and women greeting each other. There were about three men from other villages.

The mourners (*al-mukhammiin*) lined up outside the church—the deceased's son, two cousins (*yarkaanaat*) of her husband, and four of her nephews. Everyone went by, clasping hands with each mourner and saying *Allah yirhama*, or some other conventional condolence.

Such was the funeral of an old woman with few relatives. Comparatively few people came from outside the village, but al-Qassi was well represented, nevertheless, and certainly Mustafa was. "Most of them are busy working today," said an informant, "but they will come on Sunday to say *Allah yirhama*."

Funerals are followed by a period of forty days during which the immediate family of the deceased do not attend church and such happy rituals as weddings are not performed for anyone. This mourning period is terminated by another church ritual called *al-jum'a al-'arba'iin*, which was usually translated "the forty days' remembrance." The ceremony brings to a close the period during which those who were unable to attend the funeral are expected to pay at least one formal call on the chief mourners. Those who did attend the funeral are of course free to make additional visits also. One goes in the evening and stays perhaps half an hour in company with a dozen or so others. The conversation is on general topics. The double significance of these confidence visits in the villagers' eyes is revealed by the following statement:

> "If someone or more than one from every family does not go, it is an insult, and people will be angry. There was a man here who lost his only son. He cried and sat sobbing for a week. This is not good. At such times, they must have someone with them, to talk to them and help them forget."

The writer attended one ceremony of *jum'a al-'arba'iin*. The deceased had been a widower in his early forties who had three adolescent children. The death was unexpected, and the loss was very keenly felt in the village because of the general circumstances and because the deceased had been very well liked and highly regarded not only in the village but also at the American University of Beirut where he had been employed for many years. A priori we would expect such a loss by death to elicit a maximum response in the village and the district. It did. The report was that over four hundred people attended the funeral itself, and "there were many, many cars."

The "forgiveness" took place on a Sunday, after the regular service, two and a half months, rather than forty days, after the funeral. This deliberate postponement put the Remembrance into the summer, when mobility is easier, so that all who wanted to would be able to come. Apparently there was a delay in some arrivals coming from a distance, and the procession did not arrive at the church till nine thirty. Since ordinarily the attendants to the Remembrance are present at the mass, too, they had to wait for them coming from Tripoli and Beirut.